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MOSCOW AND DISRUPTION.

BY H. W. LEE.

The Russian Bolsheviks cling to dictatorship and domination. The sincere ones believe that dictatorship and domination, imposed on masses of people by armed forces composed, if necessary, of foreign mercenaries, point the way to destroy capitalism and establish the Socialist Republic. Proclaiming to be Marxists with a fervour that deceives novelists like H. G. Wells, they fling overboard all economic interpretations of history, and seek to force upon a huge country, nine-tenths of whose inhabitants are peasants, a more highly centralised State system of production than has ever been contemplated by Socialists in countries where the forms of capitalist production have developed far beyond the stage they have reached in Russia. Had the Bolsheviks not been so wedded to their ideas of dictatorship and domination, their influence, used for definite Socialist purposes inside the Provisional Governments after the March Revolution, might have been of the greatest service to Russia and the International Socialist movement.

Sacrifices to Bolshevism.

The Bolshevik seizure of power took place at the end of October, 1917. For three years, therefore, the Bolshevik dictatorship has been supreme over an increasing area of the old Russian Empire. Not even its most vehement supporters who have the slightest respect for truth will declare that things are better now for the mass of the Russian people than they were in October, 1917. Any imaginative person who, after a short Bolshevik-conducted skip-around, declares that they are, will find himself or herself contradicted by Lenin, Trotzky, Zinovieff, and other Bolshevik leaders, and economic records in the Bolshevik organs will completely remove all such utter misapprehension. "Even though three-fourths of the Russian population die of cold and starvation, the rest will live on to glory in the victory of world-revolution." When Leon Trotzky talks like this to the Petrograd Soviet, he does not suggest a condition of things either delightful or desirable. That declaration bears out what we have so often contended, that the Bolsheviks regard the Revolution as a goddess to be worshipped, bring she good or ill, and not as the outcome of a conscious and organised movement from below for the benefit of mankind.

The "Soviet Republic" of Russia continues to exist and function, notwithstanding all the efforts of Koltchak, Denikin, Yudenitch, and, lastly, Wrangel. What has happened shows how right was our comrade J. O. Gavronsky when he contended in the Committee Room of the House of Commons and in "Justice" that these military attempts against the Bolsheviks were only helping to consolidate their dictatorship, and to rally to their support many who utterly disliked them, because they disliked still more the reactionary and Tsarist influences which gathered around these Generals.

Bolshevik Dictatorship Outside Russia.

Many have said, and said rightly, that the Bolshevik Government in Russia is one that other nations must put up with, whatever view of it they take, as long as it is in being. But what if it seeks to dictate to other countries the form their Governments shall take? And what if it strives to impose upon the Socialist and Labour Parties in the various countries cast-iron rules for their policies and procedure, and insists upon their acceptance under the

penalty of denunciation and disruption? Yet this is what is now taking place, and we see the result of it everywhere. Unless we all bow the knee to Moscow, the Socialist movement is to be threatened with internecine wrangles, schisms and disruption.

Nothing more clearly reveals the utter incapacity of the Russian Bolsheviks and their camp followers in other countries than their insistence upon the acceptance of the notorious "21 conditions" before a Socialist Party can become affiliated to the Third International. It is all in keeping with the "peculiar Russian methods" of the Bolsheviks. "The Communist International," published at 2d. by the I.L.P., gives these 21 conditions in full, and also the constitution of the "Red" Trade Union International. The text, published last August in the "Bulletin Communiste" of Paris, contained only 18 conditions, but that published in "Freiheit" and subsequently in "L'Humanité" contains 21 conditions, and it is those 21 conditions that have been discussed everywhere. There is, however, no difference at all in principle between the two texts. It is impossible, of course, to give the text in full, but the objects can be judged from the following:—

The Twenty-One Conditions.

"Every organisation desirous of joining the Communist International must regularly and systematically remove all reformists and 'centrists' from posts of any responsibility whatsoever in the Labour movement... and replace them by proved Communists—without any hesitation, especially at the outset, at having to replace experienced militants by workers taken from the ranks."

"It is the duty... to recognise the necessity of a complete and definite rupture with the reformists and the 'centre' policy, and to preach such rupture amongst the members of the organisations." Turati, Modigliani, Kautsky, Hilferding, Longuet and Ramsay MacDonald are specially mentioned as those who must be excluded.

"It is the duty... to fight vigorously and stubbornly the yellow Trade Union International founded at Amsterdam. It should contribute, on the other hand, to its utmost ability to the international union of the Red Trade Unions adhering to the Communist International."

"In the present time of ruthless civil war the Communist Party cannot fulfil its rôle unless it is organised in a most centralised manner, unless an iron discipline bordering on military discipline is admitted, and unless its central body is armed with extensive powers and enjoys the unanimous confidence of the militants."

All Parties affiliating to the Third International must adopt the name of the "Communist Party of..." "The Communist International has declared war without mercy on the whole bourgeois world and on the old yellow Social-Democratic Parties... who have sold the flag of the working classes..."

There is much more concerning the discipline of the Party Press, programmes and tactics, all in the direction of centralisation and domination from the Third International or its Executive. The whole thing reads as if the Third International considered that the situation was everywhere pretty much as it is in Moscow and Petrograd, that if it isn't it ought to be, and that therefore the Communist Parties must all act as if it were!

The "Red" Trade Union International.

About the time that these "21 conditions" were issued Zinovieff gave forth a proclamation calling for the establishment of a Red Trade Union International. In the "Shop Stewards of England," the "Works Councils of Germany," and the "big unions" of our own "Triple Alliance," there is a "fresh wind... blowing through the edifices of the old trade unions." It denounced the Trade Union International at Amsterdam and the Labour Bureau of the League of Nations. Jouhaux and Gompers were thrown into one basket!

The date of Zinovieff's appeal is not given, but it was published in "La Vie Ouvrière" of Paris on August 20. On August 1 another and different manifesto was issued by the "International Council of Trade Unions" which was formed at Moscow on July 15 by the "trade unions of Russia and England... representing 8,000,000 members," in order to bring into being the "Red" Trade Union International. The manifesto depicts a hopeless, degraded, poverty-stricken mass of trade unionists as a result of the war and the betrayal of the masses by Labour leaders. Its language is as ill-balanced as it is lurid. Our programme is the overthrow of the bourgeoisie by force"; and as a decided step towards that overthrow, that "force" is to be turned on to the Trade Union International at Amsterdam and the Labour Bureau of the League of Nations!

Bolshevik "Theses."

Certain Bolshevik supporters in the United States have questioned how far these documents are really official, and imply that Zinovieff has done a lot of this work on his own responsibility. This doubt is suggested, we should think, by the fact that the documents have done more than anything else to cool the ardour of a good many who, influenced by the status of the Bolsheviks in Russia, were being led to look longingly towards Moscow. We have not the shadow of doubt about their genuineness. What has been issued from Moscow about the Third International and the "Red" Trade Union International is quite in keeping with the official "Theses to the Second World Congress of the Communist International," published at the Smolny Institute at Petrograd; which, in addition, shows that the "Soviet" system, of which certain "revolutionaries" here are so enamoured, is merely to be used as a lever for the dictatorship of the Communist Party, to be thrown aside when no longer of service.

Vandervelde was only too right when he declared at the recent Congress of the Belgian Labour Party at Brussels that he saw "in the Third International a dangerous enterprise, not in the way of an attack on the bourgeoisie, but in the schisms and the demoralisation of the whole working class." Barely a Socialist Party has escaped splits and divisions due to subsidised Bolshevik propaganda. Split up and wreck existing Socialist and Labour organisations as a means of overthrowing the bourgeoisie! To this objective is now added that of helping Kemal Pasha to subdue Armenia by military force, among other things. The Third International stands revealed in its true, lurid colours. It is the duty of all Social-Democrats to make it known far and wide that they have nothing to do with this "dictatorship of the proletariat," which is more than ever being exposed as the delusion and the snare we have always held it to be.

THE END OF VENIZELISM.

BY PLATON E. DRAKOULES.

Greece ten years ago made a revolution and entrusted to Mr. Venizelos the direction of her destinies, partly because she believed in him and partly because he was the favourite of England and France. He thus became supreme ruler and had the devotion of the entire nation. But these last three years he became intolerably autocratic, and moreover he was not constitutionally elected in 1917, but imposed by England and France. The Greek people never endorsed this, except so far as it was unavoidable in view of the abnormal international circumstances. The moment the first constitutional chance was given through the elections of November 14, Greece voted against his domestic policy, but not against his foreign policy, and it is virtually the Labour element that defeated Venizelos.

The Negation of Constitutionalism.

His home policy was the negation of constitutionalism. No King and no Prime Minister can ever hope in Greece to retain for long the confidence of the people while suppressing constitutional liberties. Both Constantine, as King, and Venizelos, as Prime Minister, have in their time each made freedom of speech impossible, and that alone in Greece would be enough to discredit them. Restrictions were inevitable during the great national work he was carrying on in the European capitals, and the Greek people bore patiently all restrictions until that work was accomplished. Had Mr. Venizelos removed those restrictions the day after the signature of the Bulgarian Treaty, without awaiting the signature of the Turkish Treaty, as I advised him to do when I saw him on the eve of the Neuilly Conference, his popularity would not have suffered so much, although there was, even two years ago, great discontent against the doings of his Ministers. Especially the Labour element was bitter against him because it had built great expectations since it helped him to assume absolute power, and was disappointed. Mr. Venizelos was profuse in promises for Labour when he first came from Crete, but has not been able to fulfil them, and his plutocratic leanings have

always been regarded with disfavour and distrust.

The Meaning of the Elections.

Greece holds that Thrace, Smyrna and the Dodecanese, just as Macedonia and Epirus, are inseparable parts of Hellenism, and that under favourable circumstances no democratic country would refuse to sanction their political union with Greece. She therefore resented the impression spread all over the world that those parts of Hellenism were only a gift to Mr. Venizelos, as if Greece owed them to him and not to the spirit of justice recognised by her Allies. By the elections the people were anxious to show that on no account is a dictatorship to be tolerated longer than it was absolutely necessary. Greece cannot be an exception from other peoples. Humanity is tired of dictators, and Mr. Venizelos acted as a dictator during the last three years. The Greek voters decided that there must be an end of Venizelism in the sense of dictatorship, but in no way can the meaning of the elections be twisted so as to imply unfriendliness to the wishes and the ideals of the Entente.

The Entente Must Have Care.

Mr. Venizelos is a personal friend of mine, and if I know anything of his character I am sure that in his heart he is glad that the Greek people showed spirit enough to reject him rather than abjectly to surrender themselves to his absolute will. I am sure that this moment he is more optimistic as to the future of Greece than when I saw him last, a year ago. England and France cannot punish Greece because she voted against a Prime Minister who served her for ten years. Her reason for doing so was simple. It was that she no longer approved of his Governmental policy. England and France have to take this vote as the expression of the sovereign will of the Greek people. If they restore Turkey, against which Greece fought as one of the Allies, they will be liable to the impeachment that their motives are not so much inspired by the wish to promote freedom and justice as by the desire to secure financial benefits, or to entice Turkey away from the Bolsheviks. A possible result of this policy will

be that hatred against England and France will be engendered among the masses of the Greek people, and Greece will be allied with the Bolsheviks. Rather the Balkan unity ought to be the policy of the Entente.

Balkan Unity.

For this, Turkey, Bulgaria and Greece could co-operate, and there is no earthly reason why Constantine should not be rendered an efficient agent for the promotion of this policy. The Balkan unity policy would be the best guarantee against German intrigue in the future. It was disunion which brought Germany in the Near East and caused the war. It must be unity which will keep Germany away and ensure peace. I am no longer afraid of Germany as a menace to the Near East, provided proper care is taken for watchfulness and enlightenment of the masses of the peninsula. Personally I should prefer Greece, as also all the other Balkan countries, to assume the Republican form of Government; but if kings must be maintained for the present, Constantine is no more undesirable than any other, either as regards the Labour conscience or as regards the foreign policy of Greece. The Greek people have given an excellent lesson to the democracies of Europe by the vote of November 14. They have proved that a revolution can be effected in twenty-four hours by a determined use of the vote, without necessity of having recourse to dictatorship. When the voters know what they want, what need is there of violent methods? May the democracies of Western Europe take this Greek lesson to heart.

Mr. Rallis cannot be in power long, nor Mr. Gounaris, nor any other, if their domestic policy is not distinctly pro-Labour. The Labour conscience in Greece is fairly strong and no Government will henceforward be stable without Labour support.

It would be a mistake to oppose the return of Constantine, or to disapprove of it, in contempt of the expressed will of the Greek people. It was a good thing Constantine was removed for the duration of the war, and I have done my best for that removal, owing to his wife being sister of the then Kaiser. (See "Justice," October, 1916.) But now that the war is over and Germany helpless, to thwart the will of a nation would be a gratuitous affront to it not unlikely to be fraught with danger in the Near East. To say, "We withdraw friendship from Greece or we take back the Greek provinces," for the liberation of which Greece has made enormous sacrifices as an ally, is to misread history and place Might above Right.

THE UNEMPLOYED CRISIS.

The following statement has been issued by the Executive Council of the S.D.F. :—

The Executive Council of the Social-Democratic Federation, in view of the unsatisfactory proposals of the Government for the unemployed which turn over the details of this serious business to the un-coordinated management of the local authorities: Declares that a social upset such as general unemployment, so widespread, so frequently recurring, so rapidly increasing, so complicated and so harmful, not only to the out-of-works themselves and their families, but to the whole community, cannot be advantageously dealt with except by carefully considered and thoroughly organised national effort, as opposed to the feeble measures favoured by the Ministry and its House of Commons.

Some of the difficulties to be encountered and overcome in formulating any adequate scheme are :—

1. Doses and charity, though possibly unavoidable temporarily owing to the neglect, lack of foresight and incapacity of the Government, are in the long run ineffective and injurious.

2. Methods of employment which tend to weaken or break down Trade Unions by wholesale "dilution," devoid of stringent restriction and control, must necessarily reduce the power of the organised workers (under the wages system) to maintain a decent pecuniary remuneration for all who obtain work in their respective trades and thus lessen their capacity to uphold a wholesome standard of life for the wage-earners as a class.

3. Works of a heavy as well as exhausting description, such as road-making, reclamation of waste land, afforestation, and even house-building, can only be satisfactorily undertaken by a small proportion of the unemployed, and are not immediately productive, either for those to whom they are suited, or for the country at large.

4. The building of houses so urgently needed

at the present time is by no means easy to organise, as special training will be required in the overwhelming majority of cases, even if the Building Trades recognised "dilution" to be essential.

5. Few of the working classes could afford to live in the houses if built. Six per cent. on the actual cost of construction alone, without taking rates into account, will raise rents beyond the means of all but the highest-paid workers.

6. The chaotic state of things created by the mismanagement of the Ministry of Health, crushing down all local efforts by inordinate delays, bootless restrictions, and blundering red tape, preclude any hope of prompt and efficient house-building by municipalities in the near future.

7. Arterial roads, to be of any real value for transport when constructed, must be exceedingly well built, must traverse many districts, and must come under various local authorities. If economy is to be studied and patchwork avoided, national control and competent management must be exercised from the first over all the schemes, and plans for housing the road-makers when at work must be well thought out. Meanwhile, no provisions have been made for the acquisition of the land required for the roads.

8. Land cultivation, whether on a large or a small scale, cannot be efficiently conducted except by men and women trained to agricultural occupation. This has been proved in all countries. Training at the public expense of inexperienced out-of-works would be imperative.

9. Small holdings, outside highly-skilled market-gardening, cannot be remunerative as a rule unless combined with some other occupation, and tillage to produce food for family use.

10. Government out-of-work pay, say 15s. a week, even with trade union benefits, say 10s. a week, or 25s. a week in all, will not provide sufficient food for a man, his wife and children, at present prices, to say nothing of house-room.

11. Increased production for profit is no remedy. It will merely intensify the evil under existing competitive production for profit. More consumption is needed. Markets in many departments are glutted already, and foreign competition of a most serious character—due to rates of exchange which no protection can cope with—has only just begun.

12. Consequently, under existing conditions, and assuming the continuance of production for profit, the prospect for growing numbers of the unemployed is gloomy and even threatening. No means have yet been officially suggested which will remedy the economic and social trouble arising out of the present social system itself.

The Social-Democratic Federation, which has had far more experience of the unemployed problem than any other organised body in Great Britain, asserts once more that this inevitable outcome of capitalist methods of production and distribution can only be beneficially dealt with by the co-operative organisation of the out-of-works in their respective trades: the useful articles which they produce being distributed at home and exchanged by barter abroad without profit and without being thrown upon the market. National organisation of production and distribution of this kind in conjunction with the great Co-operative Societies would be co-ordinated with such permanent works as might be advantageously undertaken likewise under national organisation and control.

Thus a sound economic basis for employment will be created which would be valuable as a step towards the removal of the present anarchical competition of capitalism and wagedom.

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PROMISED RESULTS GUARANTEED.

[1920

ECONOMIC FACTS.

BY J. L. MAHON.

Imported Wheat: Supply and Price.

The note under this heading in "Justice" of October 14 (p. 2) may be continued by adding the figures, from the same source, for October:—

1920, October 31s. 7d. per cwt.

The previous highest price of the imported supply was in August, 30s. 10d. per cwt.; September showed a fall of 2d. per cwt., and October an increase to 31s. 7d. According to the law of supply and demand, the rising price should be the result of a falling supply. The fact, from the official returns, is that the supply rose enormously. The figures are (imports of wheat-grain):—

October, 1913 7,968,985 cwts.
October, 1919 8,502,000 cwts.
October, 1920 11,457,510 cwts.

Government Buying of Wheat.

In September we had already an excessive supply, and the foreign markets showed falling prices. Our Government buyers, instead of holding back for a further fall, increased their purchases, apparently to raise prices. Anyhow, prices, or the price they paid, or the price we have to pay, rose on a generally falling market. It is easy to get a dear loaf! And practically the whole increase in October came from the United States, where the fall was heaviest, and from whom we bought 5½ million cwts. more than in October, 1919, or 6½ million cwts. more than in 1913.

Wheat and Rate of Exchange.

The rate of exchange problem, so persistently mis-stated in the interests of financial profiteering, may be reduced to this. We have an enormous surplus of commodities for which, as Lord Haig mistakenly said, "the world is crying out." Not the world, but that part of the world which cannot pay for them is crying out. The main part of the world which could pay for them, the United States, won't buy them and does not need them, and won't admit them except under a heavy tariff.

What Work is Worth.

"During the past few months the cost of production has been unjustifiable. The workers have demanded and obtained more money than their work was worth."—The "Sunday Times" Trade Commissioner, November 21, p. 13.

This statement is one of many indicating a coming attack on the rate of wages—that is its real significance. As a statement of economic law it is sheer nonsense. It does not matter in the least what amount of money the workers obtained during the past few months. The money was only lent to them for a few days to obtain goods. All of one week's wages-money, substantially, is back in the banks in time to be re-issued to pay the next week's wages; during the few days he holds it in his hand the wage-earner and his wife have some little discretion in the choice of goods, but the prices are fixed by the trusts and the Government.

The real question is how much goods did they get in exchange for their wages during the past few months; or, more precisely, what proportion of the value created by their labour was obtained by them in return for their wages. They gave value-creating work and received a proportion only of the value created. The non-working classes lived very well and gathered in tremendous rents, interest and profits during the past few months, and the workers obtained less to the same degree.

Unlimited Rents and Building Subsidies.

"The houses in respect of which the subsidy was paid would be absolutely free from the application of the Rent Restriction Act or of any restriction on sale price."—Dr. Addison, House of Commons, November 15, 1920.

Dr. Addison was explaining one of his many Bills which appear to pass as easily as if there were no Labour Party in the House of Commons. It creates a curious position, even from the capitalist point of view. If some employers build houses near their works out of their own capital they can only let them at restricted rents. If they apply for and get a free grant of £220 to £260 per dwelling they may then let or sell at profiteering rates. The practical effect is that the directors of a limited company who might build to attract and keep workers will be compelled to put their venture on a purely profiteering basis. The compulsion will arise from the fact that they are administrators of the shareholders' capital and are therefore bound to take every advantage of the market. They need not, of course, charge the full market rent, but their tenants will lose the assurance of the restricted rent. Another effect is that the subsidised houses will be let or sold mainly to small middle-class people, and the artisan class practically excluded.

"A Piccadilly Chance."

"The whole of the steel structure intended for the Park Lane Hotel will be included in the letting. This steel work is complete, and, having been erected before the war, the present value of it is at least three times that of its cost."—"Sunday Times," November 14, p. 20.

What is the "chance" and for whom is it? And why is value a matter of chance? The chance is a gain for some one and therefore a loss to others; no new value will be created by the act of letting or selling. This sale, as we may consider it, so far as the steel structure is concerned, only brings into striking relief a change of value which must apply very generally to such property whether it changes hands or not, and whether the building is half or fully completed. If the seller gets three times the pre-war value he gains 200 per cent., and the buyer will lose nothing because he will pay the current value.

The buyer has got a commodity which is value for his money—to wit, the steel structure of a West-End hotel. The seller has lost the commodity, and whether he gains or not depends on what he does with the money. Before the war he could have got at once the commodity gold, 30,000 pieces, each identical with each of the 10,000 he paid out, and his gain would be 20,000 pieces; if his fancy is now for gold he will only get, roughly, the equal of 20,000 of the same pieces for his 30,000 notes, and his chance gain in gold will be 10,000 only. If he is minded to give the whole £30,000 to the unemployed in the form of loaves and fishes he can only acquire the £10,000 pre-war quantity of loaves and fishes, and there are more unemployed to feed. If he does the most likely thing—viz., re-invests his money in first-rate "industrials"—he will get three times the annual profit on each £1, or nine times the pre-war income to be obtained from the value of his steel structure. His gain considered as capital will be £90,000 less the £10,000, or £80,000 net!

The rise of prices affects all products, whether or not they are consumed by wage-earners; but when the incidence of price is eliminated the fact remains that of the value produced to-day more goes to the investor and less to the producer than in the pre-war period.

THE CONSUMERS' COUNCIL.

I write these few notes as a member of the Consumers' Council recognising fully that Mr. Lloyd George's Administration has quite decided to hand over the consumers to the tender mercies of the trusts and profiteers. Whatever may be the opinions of Mr. McCurdy as a private person, he has acted, from the first, in this sense as a public politician. In fact, he has used the Ministry of Food as an instrument, in nearly every department of its activities, to further the interests of the profiteers against the people, in spite of the unceasing protests of the Council. As I have said all along, I hold no brief whatever for the Ministry of Food: none of us do. The Ministry has done many injudicious and harmful things, which the Council has striven its very utmost to prevent. But I hoped against hope that by continuing our efforts, and by supporting the Food Ministry where it did good work, we might eventually succeed in bringing about some genuine system of food control in the interest of the consumers. That is clearly impossible at present. Mr. McCurdy will go down in the history of the attempt to attain to the equitable control of the production and distribution of food by the whole people as the politician who, in obedience to the dictates of Mr. Lloyd George's Cabinet, became the tool of the Trusts and Combines. This in spite of the fact that he gained his seat at Northampton by proclaiming himself to be the champion of precisely the contrary policy. For it is obvious that there is the alternative: either control by a Department dominated by the people; or control exercised by the Food Trusts, immensely strengthened by the war, against the people.

Mr. McCurdy's Defence.

I do not wish to take Mr. McCurdy too seriously. He is merely a politician who is acting after the manner of politicians. He is anxious to strengthen his political position, that is to say, by holding on tight to the man in real power. Mr. George would not care a straw if the Food Controller resigned to-morrow; his retirement would not lose the Premier a single vote, and Mr. George thinks on all questions, home and foreign, only in terms of votes. So Mr. McCurdy, if he wants to get on, must do as he is bid. Not a very pleasant position, perhaps, for a man past middle age and a King's Counsel; but, as Bernard Osborne said many years ago, "Sufferance is the badge of all his tribe." The mass at the bottom must kowtow to the man at the top. That we all recognise with, perhaps, a contemptuous smile. But when the flexible person begins to argue and excuse himself, then criticism has its innings.

McCurdy and His Mission.

Thus Mr. McCurdy contended last Saturday at Oxford that his duty was to protect the traders—say profiteers—the taxpayers and the consumers all in a bunch, no matter how antagonistic their interests might be. A nice easy little job for a Minister on the wobble. He forgot, or did not choose to remember, that it is the consumers receiving wages and low salaries who produce nearly all the wealth which provide the profiteers and rich taxpayers with the means of making profits and paying taxes, and are taxed relatively far more heavily than the rest of the community into the bargain. These are the consumers, to the number of more than half the population, whom the Council represent. It would have been much more straightforward as well as more to the point if Mr. McCurdy had said, as Sir Harold Stewart declared in answer to a question from me nearly three years ago, that "the object of the Government is to keep the present system in being." That is the plain truth. The Government, including Mr. McCurdy, is a Profiteers' Government, and it always acts for the benefit of its clients. Why workers should vote for its maintenance in office is a mystery to me. But they do.

Bread.

"Some weeks hence" the price of the 4lb. loaf may be reduced by a whole halfpenny. Think of that. Great jubilation for the capitalist Press. The 4lb. loaf has been increased in price quite unnecessarily by more than 6d. on official decree. "Some weeks hence" it will be reduced by ½d. Hurrah! Cost of actual necessities of life now only three times more than it was before the war!

Milk.

Milk has already been raised 1d. a quart in London, to 11d. It will shortly go up another penny. All mothers are expected to cheer for Lloyd George and Co. Don't forget McCurdy in your cheering.

H. M. HYNDMAN.

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JUSTICE.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 2, 1920.

ANARCHIC VENGEANCE FOR WRONGS AND NEGLECT.

Just at the time when, if outrages and murders had ceased in Ireland, public opinion in Great Britain was turning in favour of a complete change of policy on the other side of the Irish Channel, and a cessation of all "reprisals"—horrible as the attacks have been—when the withdrawal of the British Army, on some arrangement, might have been accepted by the people here—just at this very moment come the incendiary outbursts in Liverpool (accompanied by the murder of a civilian) to make things worse than ever. Even assuming the state of war, which the fanatics of Sinn Fein claim exists between Ireland and Britain, it is impossible to excuse recent assassinations in cold blood, or the firing of Liverpool. Nor does the argument that we sympathised with Russian assassins and dynamiters in the days of Tsardom apply in the present instance. Bad as the government of Ireland has been and is, nobody can honestly compare it with the tyranny of the Romanoffs. But we must take things as they are. While protecting ourselves against the horrors of fanatical anarchism arising out of conditions that ought long ago to have been faced and equitably dealt with, we ought not to allow the furious assaults of Sinn Fein to prevent us from doing justice.

What has happened in Liverpool and is threatened in London and elsewhere recalls the organised dynamite explosions in the metropolis nearly forty years ago. Both sets of outrages were due to irrepressible hatred for long-cherished memories of the wrongs of

the past and semi-maniacal attempts to avenge these, as well as to obtain political changes which we ourselves, in other connections, have admitted to be rights. One point about the Liverpool arson affair seems very mysterious, not to say sinister. The Government knew, in every detail, what was planned from the secret documents seized and published. The local police were, therefore, elaborately informed and must have been duly instructed. Nevertheless the entire plan seems to have been carried out precisely upon the lines disclosed. How did this happen? The Government could scarcely have connived at the destruction of property to the extent of millions sterling in order to create a social and political scare. What are we to think, then, of the action or inaction of the Liverpool police? There is something here which calls for close and immediate investigation.

To us, who have supported and agitated for self-government for Ireland for much more than a full generation, this succession of outrages in peace is sad indeed. It will be very difficult, we fear, to wipe out on either side the feeling created by recent events. Yet if our two civilised countries are ever to live on terms of common peace, to say nothing of moderate friendship, some means must be found to restore mutual confidence and reduce the horror at a system of warfare which is now brought close to our own doors.

CRITICAL CHRONICLE.

OUR HOPELESS GOVERNMENT.

Not so long ago the Prime Minister dexterously exploited the superiority of Coalition to Party Government in support of his own Administration. But governments, like individuals, must be judged by their acts rather than by their words. A coalition of men of all parties for the good of the country is certainly superior to Party Government. But have we such a Coalition to-day? Most decidedly not. The one thing that holds our present hotch-potch "Coalition" Government together is the desire to keep in office: only that and nothing more. What follows is only in the natural sequence of things. We have Mr. Lloyd George at one time vehemently denouncing the Russian Bolshevik autocracy while he is unofficially intriguing with them. To-day "negotiations" with Sinn Fein are being attempted behind the scenes, though Sir Hamar Greenwood wrathfully declaims against it, and winks at reprisals which he officially and tardily disclaims. We have been promised a land "fit for heroes to live in," we have been treated to magnificent speeches on the necessity of producing as much food as possible at home, and of providing useful work for the growing numbers of the unemployed; but what is done is done hurriedly, and never thought out until it is done. The consequence is that all-round dissatisfaction with the Government is growing, and many of its supporters among the people reluctantly back it up because they can at present see no alternative. This is the pass we have come to after four years of the rhetorical, uncertain and unreliable Lloyd George.

THE LONDON LABOUR PARTY AND THE "COMMUNISTS."

We are heartily glad that last Saturday's Conference of the London Labour Party supported the action of the Party's Executive in refusing to permit the affiliation of the official Communist Party (B.S.P.). The main vote was taken on the resolution of the Mile End Labour Party in favour of accepting the Communist Party, and this was rejected by 349 votes to 241. Prior to the Conference the London District of the Communist Party issued a specious appeal, in which it was stated that though, "being the Left wing," its views are "often in conflict with those of many of the present leaders of the Labour movement," nevertheless they were asking "no more than is claimed by

and conceded to every other organisation affiliated to the Labour Party." If that were so, then there would be no justification at all in refusing affiliation to the Communist Party. But the utterances of its prominent members concerning the Labour Party are all the other way, and no more damning indictment against them could be drafted than that published by Herbert Morrison in the last issue of the "Labour Chronicle." It is one thing to seek to convince those inside the Labour Party who may not agree with us; it is another thing altogether to break it up from the inside because it does not agree with us. But those who strive to do so are only acting in accordance with "centralised" instructions from Moscow. And are not our Communists "ordered" to have another consolidated Conference next month?

DOWN WITH THE CO-OPERATORS!

There can be no doubt that the Government are using their best endeavours to thwart the co-operators and to hamper their usefulness in every way. Happily, so far, with not much success. But a case just brought by the Ministry of Food against the Woolwich Co-operative Society shows the lengths to which the Food Controller, acting no doubt on instructions from on high, can go in this direction. The co-operators were accused of slaughtering beasts against an official Order. This was not denied. But it was shown clearly by the counsel for the defendants that all through the country beasts were being similarly slaughtered by others on hints from the Ministry itself. Only the Woolwich co-operators were proceeded against. The magistrate very properly took the view that this was an instance of prejudice and persecution, and inflicted only a nominal fine. Five officials of the Ministry of Food who were duly subpoenaed to give evidence by the defendants refused to appear!

THE IRONY OF SELF-DETERMINATION.

We might almost think that Hardy's Spirits of Irony were taking an active part in the affairs of the basin of the Mediterranean and the Near East. The Peace Congress of Versailles decided in favour of self-determination for all peoples. Only about a third of the human race in Asia and Africa were excluded! But, of course, Greece was fully empowered to settle her own destinies, for in her case the fine statesman Venizelos could command an unchallengeable majority. The shameless pro-German Constantine had quite lost, and justly, the confidence of the Greek people. Quite safe, therefore, for the Allies to hand over to the Athens Government, Thrace, the reversion of Constantinople, Smyrna, and what not. But lo and behold Venizelos, the democratic statesman, is utterly smashed on a democratic poll, and Constantine is the favourite of the democracy. But that sort of self-determination does not suit England, America and France at all. Constantine is taboo. A pretty look-out, indeed. What is the solution of this nice muddle with Turkey fighting again?

A MENCHEVIST APPEAL.

We have received a manifesto from comrades L. Martov and R. Abramovitch on behalf of the Central Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party and the Central Committee of the Social-Democratic Board. It is issued from the office of "Freiheit" at Berlin. We regret that want of space prevents our printing it in full. Our comrades mark the defeat of Wrangel by an appeal for the recognition of the Soviet Government of Russia and the opening of trade relations. "All that is abnormal, unhealthy and dangerous from the point of view of Socialism in the present Bolshevik stage of the Russian Revolution can be overcome only when the ending of the blockade and artificial support of civil war will give the advanced elements of the Russian working class and peasantry the opportunity of successfully fighting the anarchical, utopian and Bonapartist tendencies in the Revolution itself."

"JUSTICE."

Pressure on our space this week compels us to leave over contributions from "Tattler" and "T. D. H." We regret that the formes are not elastic, for in the case of "T. D. H." it means that "The World of Labour" will be scrapped.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

THE ATTACK ON ARMENIA.

Camille Huysmans, Secretary of the Second International, has sent the following communication to the affiliated Parties:—

"The following telegram dated from Tiflis reaches us through the Italian Ambassador at Brussels:—

"Camille Huysmans, Maison du Peuple, Brussels.—Since September 27 considerable Kemalist forces have made a surprise attack on the Armenian Republic in the direction of Olti, Karacounte, Karourgnau and Bardous. After bloody struggles and under pressure of superior enemy forces, the Armenian troops have been obliged to evacuate the towns of Kaghisman, Sarikamisch, and Mardenek. The enemy is 14 kilometres from Kars, and is preparing a flank attack on Alexandropol. This offensive threatens with destruction the Armenian population of this country. It appears to us urgently necessary that the Armenian people should be efficaciously supported in their struggle against an aggression as perfidious as it is brutal, which it has not provoked. We are convinced that the international delegation, which has seen for itself the Armenian situation on the spot, will share our point of view, and we appeal to it to neglect no effort to assure to the Armenian people the support of the Socialist organisations of Europe.—(Signed) De Brouckère, Kautsky."

Camille Huysmans adds the following:—

"Since this telegram was sent Kars as well as Alexandropol have fallen into the hands of the Kemalists, who, according to the reports in the journals, have advanced rapidly in the direction of Erivan, the Armenian capital. This situation calls still more urgently to us to save the Armenian Republic. As you know, the League of Nations at Geneva has felt it necessary to declare in favour of intervention on the subject of Armenia. It is for the Socialist Parties and the working classes to see to it that this decision does not remain a dead letter, and that it is not used merely to serve egoistic interests.

"We appeal therefore to you to concern yourselves with this question at once, and to do whatever is necessary to inform the Press."

AUSTRIA.

The Social-Democratic Party and Moscow.

It is reported from Vienna that resolutions definitely breaking with the Moscow International and expelling Joseph Frey and Franz Rothe from the Party were adopted at a meeting of the Social-Democratic Party held on November 8. The Executive Council of the Party refused to become associated with either the Second or Third Internationals, declaring both were designed to disrupt trade unionism.

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA.

Huysmans on His Visit.

Camille Huysmans, secretary of the Second International, who has just visited Czecho-Slovakia, in an interview, stated that he had a conference with the leaders of the Socialist Party, and President Masaryk, "who is a thorough democrat." "It is a great fortune for the country," said Huysmans, "that it has at these difficult times such a President." Huysmans regretted that the Czecho-Slovak Social-Democracy for Party reasons left the Coalition Government. He was convinced that large numbers of workers now realised that it was a mistake. A Coalition Government with the Agrarians was possible, as Czecho-Slovakia had great possibilities for a peaceful development of democracy. The future of the country lay in a co-operation between peasant-democracy and Social-Democracy.

FRANCE.

Toujours Moscow!

The French Unified Socialist Party is now beginning seriously to feel the effects of the disruptive influences from Moscow. Since the visit of Marcel Cachin and Frossard to Moscow, the object of their visit has swung from an impartial inquiry into the Russian situation into an open advocacy of affiliation with the Third International. But the "21 conditions" of Moscow have caused many to see the "Red" light, and it is more than likely that the forthcoming Congress of the Party at Tours this month will show evidences of internecine struggles and disputes. Already "L'Humanité," "Le Populaire" and "Le Bulletin Communiste"

are displaying anything but a fraternal regard for one another. In a few local elections, such as in the Haute Vienne, and at Finimy, an industrial centre of the Loire, the candidates of the Unified Party have lost seats.

The recent Congress of the Seine Federation of the Unified Socialist Party has revealed three tendencies. There are those fully in favour of affiliation to the Third International, with reservations, prominent among whom are Cachin and Frossard; those in favour of the "reconstruction" of the International, prominent among whom are Jean Longuet, Paul Faure, and Verfeuil; and those definitely opposed to having anything whatever to do with Moscow, prominent among whom are Léon Blum, Bracke and Mayéras. There appears to be arising another group prepared to join with Moscow at all costs, anxious for the chains of the "21 conditions" to be riveted around their necks as quickly and as securely as possible.

The voting on the Third International was taken last Sunday. Frossard's motion for affiliation was carried by 13,008 against 2,004 for Longuet's "reconstruction" and 1,000 for Léon Blum's rejection of the Third International. At Lyons the members of the Party, led by Moutet, Rognon, deputies, and various municipal councillors, are in opposition to Moscow.

ITALY.

Unemployment.

According to the "Economista d'Italia," unemployment during 1921 is expected to be much more serious than during last winter. The Central Board has requested the Government to continue unemployment subsidies, draw up an extensive programme of public works and keep in being the Inter-Ministerial Committee. The resolution of the Central Board was brought before the Cabinet by Labriola, Minister of Labour, together with a Bill for the elimination of certain disadvantages in the unemployment subsidies scheme. Owing to the maladministration of sums lent without interest to provincial councils, municipalities and unemployment committees, the loans granted, but not distributed, will be revised by their withdrawal from districts where there is little or no unemployment in order to finance public works in those where there is marked unemployment.

UNITED STATES.

The Vote for Debs.

News is not yet to hand from the United States giving the full vote recorded for comrade Eugene V. Debs, the Presidential candidate of the Socialist Party. But everything points to it being the biggest vote yet recorded for a Socialist Presidential candidate. In many districts the Socialist vote has doubled; in Boston it has increased fourfold. In Illinois the vote is expected to go up from 48,193 to 65,000.

The "New York Call" expects the vote for Debs to be anything between 1,500,000 and 2,000,000.

The Socialist Party and Moscow.

The Socialist Party has issued a long statement regarding its attitude towards the Third International. It states that the "Soviet Government of Russia and the Communist International are two entirely distinct and separate organisations. . . . To the Soviet Government the Socialist Party of America has given its unwavering support, as evidenced by resolutions of sympathy and comradeship, and by persistent and reiterated demands upon our own Government for the withdrawal of troops, the lifting of the blockade, the resumption of trade relations and the recognition of the Soviet Government. This position has not been based upon our complete approval of every act and policy of the Soviet Government, but upon the unquestionable right of the Russian workers to establish such a Government. . . ."

The statement declares that "the conditions of affiliation laid down by the Communist International are not only impossible of acceptance by our Party, but in the opinion of the Committee they are a detriment to the Soviet Government. The promulgation of these declarations at a time when opposition to the Soviet Government was lessening and strong movements existed in all Western countries for resumption of trade relations was a colossal blunder. It tends to disrupt and disorganise the Socialist movements in other countries; it strengthens the reactionaries of all countries, gives them new arguments for reactionary measures of suppression, and impedes the growing tendency for resumption of trade relations."

FROM VARIOUS SOURCES.

We learn that the so-called public schools are fuller than ever, despite the increased cost of living.

"Opinion may differ as to Labour fitness to govern, but there can be no question as to its ability to organise propaganda."—"Ways and Means."

"Character is property. It is the noblest of possessions."—Smiles. Somehow it is not that phase of Samuel Smiles's teaching that is popular with those who get on.

"The whole tendency of the time is for promising men, both in the House of Commons and the Civil Service, to be tempted by large money into private employment."—"The Outlook." We sometimes wonder whether big business buys them out because they promise to harm big business if they stay in.

"What connection indeed is there between Mr. Masterman's 'New Liberalism' and the Liberal Party?" asks the "New Statesman." Labour votes is the answer.

"Hate is a curse; the people are great by their generosity or their repentance."—Motta.

"You cannot bludgeon a man into moderation."—Lord Dunraven.

"Who is for Ireland and who is for assassination?"—Sir Hamar Greenwood. Personally we prefer Ireland.

"... rhodomontade."—Mr. Asquith.

Arson and murder are no more convincing arguments than provocation and reprisals.

"The very word reprisal stinks in my nostrils. It is a bestial and un-English word. . . ."—Gilbert Franken.

"Experience shows that troubles disappear when it is made the interest of the people themselves to put an end to them."—Haldane.

"I do not look with alarm or dislike on the prospect of Labour Governments."—Lord Milner. But what has he to say of Coalitions?

"Political Parties march only on their chests."—Lord Ribblesdale. Their money chests of course.

"Mr. Lloyd George reminds one of a country solicitor."—Lord Riddell. We wonder what Lord Riddell knows of a country solicitor.

"My experience is that everybody thinks he governs the Government."—Bonar Law. This is rough on Northcliffe.

"We know what we say."—"John Bull." We should not have thought it.

"I do not urge women to manage men—the more we manage ourselves the better."—Lady Amherst. Carried nem. con.

"America has talked greatly about democracy, but has done very little to realise it."—Bishop Gore.

"Ca' canny means either increased cost of each unit produced or reduction of wages."—Lord Askwith. Generally the latter.

"There was a millionaire who disapproved of Foreign Missions. In church, when a collection was being taken up for them, he whispered to the collector: 'I never give to missions.' The collector replied: 'Take something out; it's for the heathen.'"

An American, motoring in a small Scotch town, was pulled up by the local policeman. The latter said: "Didn't you see that notice 'Dead slow'?" "Sure," said the American, "I thought that referred to your durned little town."

"The life of a village working man's wife is one of deadly dullness and toil."—Howell Evans.

"The Bolshevik Government seems on the whole to be trying to act up to its professions."—H. G. Wells. But what are its professions?

"Here Mr. Rothstein interrupted in Russian with an objection that Lenin swept aside."—H. G. Wells. Rothstein, where have we heard that name?

INTERNATIONAL T.U. CONGRESS.

BY WILL THORNE, M.P.

The International Trades Union Congress was held at the Holborn Restaurant on November 22 and the five following days.

The representation was as follows:—Trades Union Parliamentary Committee, 7 delegates (membership 6,500,000); General Federation of Trade Unions, 3 (1,500,000); Germany, 12 (8,500,000); France, 13 (1,500,000); Belgium, 9 (700,000); Denmark, 5 (300,000); Norway, 5 (150,000); Sweden, 4 (281,000); Holland, 8 (240,000); Italy, 5 (2,300,000); Austria, 3 (800,000); Czecho-Slovakia, 4 (750,000); Hungary, 2 (215,000); Switzerland, 1 (225,000); Luxembourg, 2 (27,000); Spain, 2 (250,000); Poland, 3 (334,000); Zjednoczenie Zawodowe Polskie, 6 (774,000); Canada, 1 (260,000).

In consequence of W. A. Appleton, Secretary of the G.F.T.U., resigning his position as President, L. Jouhaux, the first Vice-President, gave a very hearty welcome to the delegates in a very interesting speech, in which he pointed out the tremendous difficulties that the organised workers were passing through in all countries, and urged that it was only by closer unity that the wage-earners of the world could improve their economic and industrial conditions, and to a very great extent restrain the domination of capitalism.

A resolution passed at the Portsmouth Trades Union Congress declared that only one organisation representing the British trade union movement should be allowed to be party to the International Trades Union Congress. This means excluding from future congresses the General Federation of Trade Unions.

J. H. Thomas, M.P., was elected chairman of the Congress.

The Russian Trade Unions.

The Russian Ural Trade Unions gave the reasons why the Russian working classes were not represented at the Conference, owing to the fact that the Soviet Government, which at present controlled the Russian trade unions, had not responded to the invitation to send its delegates to the Congress. They sent a communication, in which they declared that a free and independent trade union movement does not exist in Russia at present; that it is at present absolutely impossible for the Russian Labour class to express its opinion openly, owing to the political and economic serfdom which has been introduced into Russia by the Soviet Government; and that the leaders of the Russian trade unions are severely and cruelly persecuted by the Soviet Government; many of them have been shot; many are still in prison and camps, or else in exile. The Ural Trade Unions include about 145,000 members.

The Exchanges and Repudiation.

All the reports from the various commissions were exceedingly long ones. The Commission on the International Exchange declared that a solution of the international financial problem is inseparable from the economic solidarity of the nations. The Congress therefore recommended the universal mutual repudiation of the international war debts as one of the best means of counteracting the effects of the crisis that exists at the present time. International measures must proceed on lines other than mere concession of fresh commercial credits, and this can only be accomplished if and when the League of Nations, or an organisation attached thereto, raises an international loan on the security of the wealth and resources of all nations without exception, the amount to be placed at the disposal of various countries with measures under the control of the League of Nations. The loan must not be used for any military purpose.

The British, Belgian and Canadian delegates did not vote for the repudiation of the international war debts. I pointed out that it was absurd to repudiate war debts on the one hand and work to promote international loans on the other, because it was quite certain that if the war debts were repudiated, nobody would feel inclined to lend money to the International Loan.

Socialisation.

The Socialisation Commission report contained eleven long paragraphs, but the chief one read as follows:—

"This Congress, therefore, demands in the interest of society the socialisation of land and other means of production. The Congress regards it as essential that a commencement should be made forthwith on the socialisation of minerals, coal ores, salt, phosphate, etc., all transport of undertakings, and, generally speaking, on all branches of production which in the estimation of the proletariat of every country is realisable."

Moscow.

The Moscow Commission contained ten pages of close typewritten matter, the chief items of which were:—

"The Congress also observes that the signatories of this manifesto set down their declaration of war by writing that the International of Moscow will destroy the 'Yellow' Amsterdam International.

"The Congress considers, judging from the facts of the situation, that these attacks do not emanate from the Russian proletariat and that

the latter could not be regarded as in any degree responsible for them. Further, the Congress considers that these calumnious criticisms and this declaration of war prove either a total ignorance of the composition and actions of the International Federation of Trade Unions or else an evident bad faith arising out of the unwholesome desire to destroy the workers' organisations in every country."

Eight-Hour Day.

The Eight-Hour Day Commission reported that the Washington Congress decision with regard to the eight-hour day was for the workers in all countries. The British Section were compelled to get words inserted to read maximum eight-hour day so as to protect those in the shipbuilding and engineering trades who now work 47 hours per week, and those in the building trade now working 44 hours.

The Ruhr District.

A resolution was unanimously passed on this question affirming that a measure of this kind [occupation by Entente troops] will be an act of unjustified brute force, a violation of the pact already agreed upon; that the occupation of the Ruhr district will be followed by grave consequences; and declaring that the organised workers are prepared to use all and every means to oppose such measures and to prevent a dictatorship over the workers in the Ruhr district. The coal problem can be solved only by international organisation of production and distribution of all available fuel as already demanded by the International Miners' Congress held at Geneva.

Legien's Appeal.

Karl Legien, the German delegate, made a strong appeal against the methods adopted by the Allied Commission in destroying factories. The purpose of this is to destroy the German people. If these methods are to continue, how can the German people be expected to fulfill their engagements?

J. H. Thomas, M.P., speaking for the British delegates, declared entire agreement with Legien that the greatest libel uttered about the war was that it was to end militarism, but advised Germany to address that to France. The organised British workers' policy was to re-establish the world on a peace basis and recognise that all nations should come into a real League of Nations.

The International Trades Union Congress was certainly a very successful one. The delegates from all countries were very earnest and united.

The Congress finished mid-day last Saturday by the singing of "The International."

It will be noticed that the representation is very disproportionate, because at the present time there has been no fixed rule of representing according to the strength of the various organisations.

PARLIAMENTARY NOTES.

BY COUNCILLOR DAN IRVING, M.P.

As I was not able to send my usual Parliamentary Notes last week, I will make a few references to the proceedings of the week before last. Mr. Bonar Law may say what he likes about the Government not "climbing down" on the Ministry of Health Bill; but one effect of this surrender is to cut out an important proposal for extending the payment of subsidies to schemes proposed by local authorities for the housing of their employees. So now we have the position where a private builder can get a subsidy of £260 a house, which is refused to a local authority.

There is no need to refer to Jack Jones's speech on the Unemployment (Relief Works) Bill, as it was printed in last week's "Justice." Robert Munro claimed a lot of things for the Bill. It would relieve the taxpayer from the payment of unemployment doles, Poor Law Guardians from liabilities, and the minds of men from the haunting fear of permanent unemployment. Nevertheless, the application of its provisions might cause an increase in the local rates!

Last week Ireland was to the fore in both Houses of Parliament. In the House of Lords it was the Government of Ireland Bill, where it is receiving a good deal of reasoned opposition to its limitations, and drastic amendment on the lines of Dominion Home Rule is being discussed. In the House of Commons it was mainly on reprisals. The three main speeches in the debate were those of Asquith, Devlin, and the Irish Secretary. Asquith's

speech has been variously described as one of the "least effective" he has ever made, and that he never spoke with "more trenchant force or greater power." Though abhorrence of the Dublin murders was universal, he vigorously resented the implication so often made that those who condemn reprisals were indifferent to the crimes of which police and soldiers have been the victims. But the policy of outrage and terrorism was driving men of moderate Nationalist sentiments into an attitude of despondency and despair.

Commenting on the statement of the Irish Secretary that this policy was succeeding, Asquith said it was a mistake to assert that crimes were on the decrease. There was a large body of evidence on this subject which in any other country would be accepted, not only as presumptive, but as conclusive. The statement was challenged, and Asquith retorted: "Why do you continue to refuse an inquiry into Ireland?" This challenge was enforced vehemently by Devlin, and in a speech of passionate and burning eloquence he recited how one Irish leader after another had been driven into the ranks of the Separatists by the trickery of English political parties and the broken promises of English statesmen. "When the Act of 1914 was put upon the Statute Book, Ireland was the most crimeless country in the world. You could have Ireland as a friend, but you always tried the wrong way. You have tried terrorism, military special courts of law, and the whole of your machinery is not constructed to win Ireland, but to crush her."

Sir Hamar Greenwood's reply was doubtless a rhetorical triumph, impressive in its long recital of crime, outrage and plots for the destruction of docks and power-stations in this country, but it was in no sense a reply to the case put up against the Government. The manner of his speech was truculent to a degree. He seemed to be divided between disclaiming reprisals and claiming credit for their success, between declaring the Sinn Féin Army to be "on the run" and regarding it as so formidable as to admit of no relaxation in his methods. He admitted that some creameries have been destroyed without provocation by the forces of the Crown, but went on to say that they have been made the rendezvous of the Irish Republican Army, and as these creameries may have members of that army on their staffs they were liable to be destroyed by the forces of the Crown!

The Agricultural Bill has now passed its Third Reading after a protracted discussion. A motion for its rejection on the Third Reading borders on mere obstruction, particularly when only twelve members went into the lobby in support of the motion. Sir A. Griffith Bos-cawen summarised the Bill in this way: "It gives the farmers a guarantee for prices which they can accept, links with this a guarantee of labourers' wages, security for tenant farmers, gives the prospect of an increased output and a more fertile soil, with indirect benefits in consequence to the commercial classes." Sir Frederick Banbury regards all this as "breaking the sanctity of contracts," and sees red ruin in the "disastrous interference of the State." Referring to the Government, he exclaimed: "Why, I would sooner have the Labour Party there!" Jack Jones interjected, amid laughter: "We shall convert you yet"; to which Sir Frederick Banbury sternly retorted: "They could not be worse."

THE BOOKSHOP.

The Village Labourer.

"The Village Labourer, 1760-1832." By J. L. Hammond and Barbara Hammond. (Longmans, 39, Paternoster Row, E.C.4.) Cheap edition, 6s. net.

This book is one of a trilogy of studies in which the Hammonds have undertaken to deal with the condition and economic position of the town, village and skilled labourers during a limited, but characteristic, period of their history. In the course of these monographs they have set themselves the task of showing the attitude of the governing class towards the efforts of the working class to better their position in the State.

In this book they have most successfully depicted an attitude of mind peculiar to itself. They have shown how men, high-spirited, virtuous and just in the ordinary relations of life, did not hesitate to use the most unscrupulous legal and military weapons in order to maintain their position. How these men reconciled their actions with their consciences is an insoluble mystery, but their writings go far to show that the economic theories of any time are liable at any moment to subversion by a change in the distribution of wealth.

The value of the monograph upon the village labourer will be very great to future writers of social and economic history. It is an outstanding example of patient devotion to the subject and a careful sifting of facts which cannot be too highly praised. It is an addition to the literature of economic history of which the authors may well be proud, and it is by the use of such work that the historian of the future will be enormously assisted. Had the writer of "The Growth of English History and Commerce" had at his disposal a series of such painstaking monographs his work would have been immensely facilitated. Mr. Cunningham was, however, forced to discover his material for himself, and by so much unnecessary work was the value of his book detracted from. Had such assistance been to hand it could not have failed to add to the value of an already valuable work.

So much for the academic side of the village labourer, for which it is not possible to find too great praise.

After reading the first three or four chapters I remembered three things, which had lain dormant in my mind with no apparent relation to each other. The first was the following quotation from the introduction to the Report of the Land Inquiry Committee written by A. D. H. Acland:—

"It is essential that we should realise how comparatively modern in our long agricultural history are both the unlimited power of the landowner and the landless position of the labourer. It is indeed only for little more than a century that the powers of the landowners have been so great or the position of the labourer and cottager so weak."

"Two of the most characteristic features of English village life before the time of the enclosures of the eighteenth century were the large number of small men with rights of their own, and the gradation of village life from cottager to smallholder, and smallholder to farmer. It is held by some of the best authorities that before the enclosures there were very few landless labourers. It is certain that in many places there were opportunities which are non-existent now for thrifty labourers and cottagers."

The second was a story which I was told in my boyhood by another boy. His family, a peasant family, moved from a Somerset into a Dorset village somewhere in the thirties or forties of last century to be greeted by their new neighbours with hoots and shouts of "We want no Somerset — here."

The third in an extract from an insignificant and doubtless ephemeral novel, entitled "Mrs. Fitz," by J. C. Snaith. The King of Illyria, an imaginary potentate, had been paying an unofficial visit to the castle of an English duke, and his host—the duke was absent at the time of the visit—had explained that the duke owned £500,000 a year. The king had declared that in Illyria it would not have been possible for a subject to own so much. The passage continues:—

"But if," said I, "the State mulcts his grace of a farthing's worth it is denounced as a robber. Property is the most sacred thing we know in this country."

"His grace came by all this honestly, I hope?" said the king, with an amused air.

"He came by it under forms of law, certainly."

"Which he himself did not make, I hope!" said the king, laughing.

"No, sire. His grandfather and the nominees of his grandfather and so on managed that little business. Quite a constitutional proceeding, of course."

"I appreciate that," said Ferdinand. "The British Constitution has long been the envy of nations."

The first quotation is in entire accord with the principles enunciated by the Hammonds. Neither they nor Mr. Acland pretend that England before the enclosures was a little heaven on earth, but

they entirely agree that the loss of his land or of his rights of common did more effectually depress the village labourer than almost anything else could have done.

The second memory shows the effect of the Speenhamland system having become ingrained in the minds of the village labourer to such an extent that even they themselves were anxious to avoid the increase of the population by the immigration of foreigners who would probably have to share in the doles which were their lot.

The third contains in a few lines the flavour of the cynicism which enabled the Enclosure Acts to be passed for the benefit of a small section of society, and is in essence what the Hammonds have set out to tell the story of in their monograph. The forms of law under which the great landowners obtained their title are analysed, and the measures they adopted to retain the lands are set out clearly in this book, which should be read by all Social-Democrats, and indeed, if it were possible to secure it, by every member of British society.

G. E. FUSSELL.

Books, etc., Received.

"Some Aspects of the Inequalities of Incomes in Modern Communities." By Hugh Dalton, M.A. (Routledge, 68-74, Carter Lane, E.C.4.) 10s. 6d. net.

"Les Peuples de la Transcaucasie pendant la Guerre et devant la Paix." Par P. G. La Chesnais (Bossard, 43, Rue Madame, Paris.) 9 francs.

"Irish Unionism." By James Windes Good. (Dublin: The Talbot Press. London: Fisher Unwin.) 6s. net.

"Higher Production," by Dennis Miller; and "The Practice and Theory of Bolshevism," by Bertrand Russell. (Allen and Unwin, 40, Museum Street, W.C.1.) 6s. net.

"Through the Ivory Gates." By May Westoby. Illustrated by the Brothers Warbis. (Twentieth Century Press, Clerkenwell Green, E.C.1.) 5s. net.

"Direct Action." By William Mellor. (Leonard Parsons, Portugal Street, W.C.2.) 4s. 6d. net.

SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION.

CENTRAL OFFICE:

160, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4.

Good progress is being made in building up the S.D.F. in South London. A meeting of the South London Branch was held at the Labour Party Rooms, 16, Peckham Road, on Monday evening last. Several new members were enrolled, and the messages of goodwill to the S.D.F. from those who were unable to attend the meeting were very encouraging.

Weather permitting, outdoor propaganda will be resumed, and early in the New Year a social and dance is being arranged for, to be held under the joint auspices of the branch and the South London Clarion Fellowship, particulars of which will be announced later. The next general meeting of the branch will be held on Monday, January 3, 1921, at 16, Peckham Road.

On Sunday next, December 5, I begin a week's work of propaganda in South Wales. Meetings have been arranged at Cardiff, Blaenclydach, Merthyr Vale, etc., and I shall be glad to hear from comrades in other parts of the district who are willing to assist in forming new branches. Letters addressed c/o B. Evans, 73, Upper Kincraig Street, Cardiff, will find me from December 4 to 11.

I have had several applications within the last few weeks from branches and individual members desirous of starting S.D.F. economic and discussion classes. I have done my best to assist with suggestions of suitable text-books, and with hints with regard to the general line on which such classes should be conducted. I feel, however, that something more is needed than I have yet supplied, and I hope soon to be able to supply all our branches with a syllabus, suitably arranged to cover a winter's course of study.

A significant feature of the letters I have received on this subject is the complaint that past attempts at the running of economic classes in the Socialist movement have in too many cases tended to produce a mechanical, impossibilist, hair-splitting and merely theoretical state of mind, and that the knowledge gained is seldom applied to the actual affairs of life. That danger, of course, is not confined to the study of economics or to Socialists. The ignorant and narrow-minded religious bigot is invariably well armed with texts and quotations. The more ignorant and intolerant he is, the more he will rely on the verbal accuracy of his recitation. He becomes a mere worshipper of words and phrases. Socialists should not be guilty of weakness of that sort.

Rational conclusions regarding what *should be* can only be arrived at when we have put ourselves to the trouble to understand what *is*. We study industrial history, not in order to be able to indulge in the foolishness of saying that history will repeat itself, because history never does, but in order to see as far as possible the connecting links between the past and the present. When, therefore, I have ventured to suggest to intending students of eco-

nomics that they should read and, if possible, digest Marx's "Capital" and Hyndman's "Economics of Socialism," I do not intend them to deify Marx or Hyndman, or merely to acquire the art of repeating sentences or pages from their writings. I do intend that they should discover how far the Marxist analysis of the relations between individuals and classes of the community, and between capitalists and workers, is a true statement of existing conditions. Finding, as I think we shall, that the analysis is true, we are better equipped for the task of removing what is bad in existing conditions, and building up what is desirable and good.

When the S.D.F. syllabus (which I hope will cover an easy and comprehensive course of study in economics and industrial history for beginners) is prepared, I propose to send a copy to Mr. H. G. Wells.

THOMAS KENNEDY, Secretary.

ISLINGTON BRANCH, S.D.F.

We have recently devoted much time to municipal work in addition to national and international affairs. The splendid work of our S.D.F. men on the Borough Council has compelled us to devote extra attention to local matters. The new Town Hall scheme, local rates and housing projects are dealt with regularly at our Highbury Corner meeting on Sunday morning. Councillors Cluse, Barrett and Hill have given us their best at these gatherings, and Alderman Montague (I.L.P.) and the Mayor have rendered valuable assistance. Councillor Lewer was with us two weeks back, and the literature sales and collection excited the treasurer! Last Sunday Councillors Hill and Barrett spoke to a splendid audience and answered many questions. The collection realised 14s. 3d., and all the "Justices" were sold and additional copies were inquired for. On Fridays during January comrade Robert Arch is conducting a series of discussions on "Economics and History from the Marxian Standpoint," and we are including some excellent musical items in each of the four programmes. These discussions will be held at the Central Labour Rooms, 295, Upper Street, South Islington, and the second series will be held in February in a hall in North Islington. A syllabus is in course of preparation, and both series will be well advertised throughout the borough. Next Sunday morning Harry Springfield will pay us a return visit. W. R. Lawson continues to draw huge audiences in Finsbury Park, and his recent debate on "The Survival of the Fittest" has resulted in the mental defeat of his opponent. Our youthful comrade Potter has now sufficient command of language to indulge in oratorical flights, and is a welcome jewel to the local Social-Democratic movement.

With the editor's permission I will give the readers of "Justice" a glimpse of the fine work the North Islington Socialist Sunday School is doing—but not this week. Socialists who reside in the borough should see that their children help to swell the register of this school.—S. C.

SPECIAL NOTICES.

Special Notices of Meetings, etc., for Socialist bodies and branches will be inserted under this heading at a minimum charge of 6d. for four lines, 9d. for six lines, and 1d. per line above that number, reckoning seven words to a line. All such notices MUST BE PREPAID.

CENTRAL BRANCH, S.D.F.—The next meeting will be held on Wednesday, December 8, at 7.30, at 19, Buckingham Street, Charing Cross. The visit of Mr. H. G. Wells to Russia will be further discussed, and comrade Dobson will present his report upon the Annual Conference of the London Labour Party. It is hoped that there will be a good attendance at this, the last meeting of the year.

ISLINGTON BRANCH, S.D.F.—The next branch meeting will be held at Labour Hall, 403, Hornsey Road (Tollington Park), on Thursday, December 9, at 3.15 p.m. Outdoor meetings, Sunday December 5:—Finsbury Park, 11 a.m., W. R. Lawson; Highbury Corner, 11.30 a.m., Harry Springfield.

LONDON CLARION FELLOWSHIP.—The next monthly meeting will take place in the Green Salon, Eustace Miles Restaurant, 40, 41 and 42, Chandos Street, W.C., on Wednesday, December 8, 1920. Dr. Harry Roberts will lecture on "Democracy in Practice." Chair, 7.45 p.m., by J. R. Clynes, M.P. Visitors will be welcome. Fee, 1s. Inquiries to Robert Rudman, Hon. Sec., 7, Pendennis Road, Streatham, S.W.16.

SMALL PREPAID ADVERTISEMENTS.

Fourteen words or under 1/-, every additional seven words 6d., one insertion; additional insertions at half-rates.

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LADIES' Knitted Hose, fine 2-ply, Made to Order in Shades of Black, Grey, Tan, Nigger and Champagne, 6s. 9d. per pair. Gent's Socks, 5s. 3d.—Box 901, Twentieth Century Press, Clerkenwell Green, E.C.1. [1926]

CORRESPONDENCE.

The Real Wealth of Nations.

Dear Comrade,—I regret having been unable to reply sooner to Mr. J. S. Hecht's letter in your issue of October 21.

Mr. Hecht complains that I attributed to him views which he did not express, but he does not specify any passage or particulars, so that I am not able to answer or make amends on that point.

It is not easy to discuss with Mr. Hecht because he uses well-known words with artificial meanings of his own. For example, he states that "it is the wealth-producers who must govern every country," but by an original definition of wealth he excludes miners and transport workers and all unskilled labour. Will he quote any other writer who has ever used the term "wealth-producer" in this sense?

Mr. Hecht's book contains no "practical scheme of wealth distribution based on the value of labour." His scheme is based on the creation of a new governing class consisting of those who have superior "brains and skill." This class is to decide the "value of labour." If labour has value, and if the brains and skill class are the sole creators of value, then the dirty, ignorant, democratic miners and railwaymen were "produced" by the brains and skill class. Such is the confusion in which Mr. Hecht involves himself. There is a subtle connection between bad manners and bad logic which he fails to appreciate.

In his letter Mr. Hecht refers to "the few men of each generation who teach their fellows how to increase the value of their productions." That is an admission that labour produces value because it asserts that the value produced by labour is increased by the teaching of the few. The value must have existed or it could not be increased. In his book (p. 31) Mr. Hecht states that "obviously the value of a labour-saving device depends upon the number of working hours it will save." Here he explicitly identifies value with working hours, and measures value by number of working hours. At the same time he confuses the labour-saving device with the product on which it saves labour. The value of a labour-saving device is the number of working hours required to produce it. If the device be for use in making tin kettles and it saves one hour of labour on each kettle and lasts long enough to make 50,000 kettles, then it saves 50,000 hours of tinkers' labour. But its own value does not consist of these 50,000 hours; it consists of the number of working hours required for its own production (say 2,000 hours) and then the net saving is 48,000 hours per 50,000 kettles—and it is a saving of labour. If, as Mr Hecht says, its value were equal to the labour it saved, then it would not be a labour-saving device; it would simply be a means of using an hour less of tinker's labour and an hour more of engineering labour in kettle-making.

I will try to put Mr. Hecht's argument clearly in accordance with his book. Assume that a man works for two equal periods, in one of which he produces three measures of wheat and in the next period four measures; also that he consumes in each period three measures. Mr. Hecht then argues that the labourer produced no wealth in the first period, and that he produced a wealth of one measure of wheat in the second period. He calls the three measures "cost" in each period, and the surplus over this cost, if there is a surplus, he calls "wealth." That is what he means when he accuses me of "confusing cost with value." The three measures in both cases are the "cost," not of the product or of the "labour," but the labourer's subsistence cost—and this is not altered by the fact that his subsistence and his product were of equal value in one period. In the second period there was a surplus of one measure, but that cannot in itself be distinguished from the other three. The product is one and the same; its division into four parts does differentiate those parts. In kind, quantity and value the four parts are equal. Mr. Hecht wants to feed a superior person on the surplus (of, say, three such labourers). Very good. Then if the nine measures are the "cost" of three labourers, the three (surpluses) are the "cost" of one superior.

If the superior be a capitalist farmer who employed the three labourers he will not divide the 12 measures into nine cost and three value; but into nine cost and three profit. He will say that he advanced nine cost (wages) and obtained 12 product; and he will maintain stoutly that he gave value and received value. He may say as little as possible about the quantity of value advanced and received, but that both were value, alike in kind, he will be quite clear.

Mr. Hecht states that "the more labour hours wasted the higher the value produced" is a logical consequence of labour-time being the true measure of value. This is so well contradicted by his own Chapter III. on average cost that I can refer him to his own writings for an answer. It is surely not reasonable to add wasted hours to productive hours. Value may be reduced to numbers of working hours and the number is decided by the prevailing average efficiency of the productive methods.

I shall feel indebted to Mr. Hecht if he will give references to papers which published what he considers fuller and fairer reviews of his book than the one that appeared in "Justice," so that I may improve my knowledge of the art of reviewing. I hope the new governing class will teach more by example and rely less on "calling names" than the old one.—Yours, etc.,
J. L. MAHON.

If we could Eat French Nails

—then we should not need mustard. The ostrich can dispense with mustard with impunity.

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ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΑΙ ΓΝΩΜΑΙ ΖΗΤΩ Ο ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣΙ

Ἡ ἔθνοσυνέλευσις χθές προέπεμψε τὸν ἀναχωροῦντα σήμερον Βασιλέα. Ἀρ-
χιεπισκόπων. Καὶ τὸν προέπεμψε μὲ μί-
αν θερμὴν καὶ ἐνθουσιωδῆ ἐκδήλωσιν ἀν-
τικατοπτρίζουσαν τὰ αἰσθήματα ὁλοκλή-
ρου τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ λαοῦ προπρόμποντος
τὸν Βασιλέα τοῦ πρὸς συνέχισιν καὶ εὐό-
δωσιν τελειωτικῆν τοῦ Ἑθνικοῦ ἀγώνος.
Ἦτο μία συνικὴ μυσταγωγία ἡ χθεσινὴ
ἐκδήλωσις τῶν ἀντιπροσώπων τοῦ Ἑ-
θνικοῦ ἡνωμένων, ἀνεξαρτήτως κομματι-
κῶν ἀντιλήψεων καὶ διαφορῶν, εἰς ἓνα
κοινὸν παλμὸν, τὸν παλμὸν τῆς Πατρι-
δος. Ἡ ἱστορία τοῦ θά γραφῇ διὰ τὸν τε-
λειωτικὸν νικηφόρον τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ἑ-
θνικοῦ ἀγώνα, θὰ περιλαμβάνῃ καὶ μίαν
ὥραϊαν σελίδα, ἀναγράφουσαν τὴν χθεσι-
νὴν μυσταγωγίαν τῶν ἀντιπροσώπων τοῦ
ἐλευθεροῦ καὶ τοῦ ἐλευθερωθέντος Ἑλ-
ληνισμοῦ, οἱ ὅποιοι προπρόμπον μὲ τὰς
ζητωκραυγὰς τῶν τῶν Βασιλέα, καὶ τὰς
εὐχὰς διὰ τὴν νίκην τοῦ στρατοῦ κατὰ τῶν
βαρβάρων.

Ζήτω ὁ Βασιλεὺς!

Ἡ "ΑΘΗΝΑ ΓΚΗ", Εἰς τὸ μετῴπιον

Ὁ Βασιλεὺς, συνοδευόμενος ἀπὸ τὰς
εὐχὰς τοῦ λαοῦ, ἀναχωρεῖ διὰ τὰ Μικρα-
σιατικὰ πεδία, ὅπου ἡ ἀδάμαστος Ἑλλη-
νικὴ λόγχη θ' ἀνοίξῃ δρόμον πρὸς τὴν
πόλιν τῶν ἐθνικῶν οὐραίων, τὴν ὁποίαν
Κωνσταντῖνος ἔχασε σὰν σήμερα καὶ ἡμε-
ραντινὸς θὰ πάρῃ!

Τὰ ὕψιστα τῶν ἱστορικῶν γεγονότων,
ἀπὸ τῆς ἀλώσεως τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλε-
ως, ἐγγυμονοῦνται σήμερον διὰ τὴν Ἀ-
νατολίαν εἰς τὰ Μικρασιατικὰ πεδία, ὅπου
ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἐνοπλος, πάνοπλος, ὁρμητικὴ,
ἀκατάβλητος, ἀνυπομονεῖ διὰ τὴν σύνθημα
τῆς ὁριστικῆς, τῆς μεγάλης, τῆς πολυση-
ματικῆς νίκης.

Ὅλον τὸ ἔθνος πάλλεται ἀπὸ ἱερὸν
ἐνθουσιασμὸν καὶ ἀπὸ φλογερῶτατον ἐν-
διαφέρον. Ἡ «Ἀθηναϊκή», ἡ ὁποία ἔγι-
νε πάντοτε πιστὴ τῶν λαϊκῶν πόθων ἡχώ,
θὰ ὑπηρετήσῃ αὐτὸν τὸν ἐνθουσιασμὸν καὶ
αὐτὸ τὸ ἐνδιαφέρον μὲ ὅλας τὰς πνευ-
ματικὰς καὶ ὁλικὰς δυνάμεις.

Ἐκτὸς τοῦ ἐκτάκτου εἰς Μικρασίαν ἀ-
πεσταλμένου μας, τοῦ ἐκλεκτοῦ μας συ-
νεργάτου κ. Ἀθανασίου, ἡ «Ἀθηναϊκή»
διαθέτει εἰς τὸ μέτωπον δύο ἀκρόμα-
τοι μόνιμους ἀναποκριτάς, εἰς τοὺς ὁποίους
ἔδωκε τηλεγραφικὴν ἐντολήν. ὅπως μὴ
φειδόμενοι δαπανῶν καὶ κόπων, κρατή-
σων ἐνήμερον τὴν ἀναγνωστικὴν τῆς κοινῆς
δύναμιν τῶν λεπομερεσιῶν καὶ τῶν φάσεων
τῆς μεγάλης ἐθνικῆς ἐποποιίας, ἡ ὁποία θὰ
ἐκτυλιχθῇ ἐντὸς ὀλίγου εἰς τὰ Μικρασια-
τικὰ πεδία. Τηλεγραφικὰ καὶ ταχυδρο-
μικὰ ἀνταποκρίσεις, εἰκόνες, περιγρα-
φαί, ἀφηγήσεις μαχητῶν, θὰ παραέλθουν
εἰς μίαν ὑπέροχον κινήματογραφικὴν ται-
νίαν ἀπὸ τῶν στηλῶν τῆς «Ἀθηναϊκῆς»).

ΤΟ ΣΤΥΝΗΜΑ

Οἱ πληροξόνοιοι Θράκῃς, καίτοι ἀνήκοντες εἰς
τὴν ἀριστέραν πέτρην, ἀπέδειξαν καὶ χθές ὅτι ὑπὲρ
πάσαν ἄλλην μικροπολιτικὴν καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντα κομματι-
στικὴν θέτουν τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τὸ μεγαλεῖον αὐτῆς, τοῦ
δουλειοῦ Ἀδριανουπόλεως κ. Σπυρίδων πρῶτον δὲ
παντὸς τοῦ σύνθημα τῶν ἐκδηλώσεων ὑπὲρ τοῦ Βασι-
λέως. Αἱ ἐκδηλώσεις αὗται τῶν Θρακῶν βουλευτῶν
ἂν ἰδιαίτερος τιμὴν τοὺς ἀντιπροσώπους τῆς Ἑλ-
ληνικότητος Θράκῃς, δέον ν' ἀποτελέσουν τὸ παρά-
δειγμα πρὸς τοὺς λοιποὺς μοιροδέτας τῶν ὅπως χω-
ρίσων τὴν ἰδέαν τῆς Πατρίδος ἀπὸ τὸν Βενιζελι-
σμόν. Δὲν θέλουν νὰ χαρακτηρίσωμεν ὡς ἀπάτριδας
τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἐθνοσυνέλευσι Βενιζελικοὺς πληροξό-
νοιοις, ἀλλὰ θὰ ἐπεβάλλετο εἰς πολλοὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ
ἰδιαίτερος εἰς τὸν τοποτηρητὴν ἀρχηγὸν τῶν νὰ μὴ
ἀποχωρήσων ἐκ τῆς αἰθούσης, ἀλλὰ νὰ παραμείνουν
μέχρι τέλους τῆς χθεσινῆς ἱστορικῆς συνεδριάσεως
ἕως καὶ πρὸς τὸ θεᾶναι.

ΤΑ ΚΑΛΑ ΚΑΙ ΣΤΥΦΕΡΟΝΤΑ

Αἱ Βενιζελικαὶ ἐφημερίδες δὲν ἀρκοῦνται μόνον
εἰς τὰς τηλεγραφικὰς καὶ ταχυδρομικὰς ἀνταποκρί-
σεις τῶν, ἀλλ' ἔχουν καὶ τὰς ἰδιωτικὰς ἐπιστολάς ἐκ
τῶν ὁποίων ἀντλοῦν εἰδήσεις καὶ συμπεράσματα ἐκ
τῶν διαφόρων γεγονότων. Ὅτι μίαν ἐσπερινὴν βενι-
ζελίς πληροφορεῖται ἐκ τοιαύτης ἐπιστολῆς ὅτι, ὁ φόν-
τος τοῦ χωροφύλακος ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει ἐνεποίη-
σεν οἰκτοῦν ἐντύπωσιν εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ τοὺς
ἑταίρους. Σύνταγμα. Διότι οὐδεὶς φόντος ἐμποιεῖ ἀγα-
θὴν καὶ εὐάρεστον ἐντύπωσιν. Ἀλλ' ὅρα γε ἡ ἐπι-
στολὴ δὲν ἀναφέρει τοὺς λόγους τοῦ φόνου; Ἡ
μὴτις δὲν συσφύρει εἰς τὰς βενιζελικὰς ἐφημερίδας
νὰ δημοσιεύσων οἱ λόγοι;

ΚΑΜΑΡΩΣΤΕ ΤΟΤΣΙ

Ἀπόσπασμα ἀπὸ κατασχεθεῖσαν ἐπιστολὴν ἀμυν-
τῆς.

Ἡ ΘΕΣΙΣ ΤΗΣ ΚΥΒΕΡΝΗΣΕΩΣ ΒΙΘ ΕΞΑΡΤΑΤΑΙ ΑΠΟ ΤΗΝ ΛΥΣΙΝ ΤΟΥ ΣΙΛΕΣΙΑΝΟΥ

Ἐφίσταται πάντοτε ἡ ἀντίδρασις κατὰ τοῦ τελειωγράφου. — Ἐπάρχει φόβος νέας
κυβερνητικῆς κρίσεως ἐν τῷ ζήτημα τῆς Σιλεσίας δὲν λυθῇ ὑπὲρ τῆς Γερμα-
νίας. — Ἀηλώσεις τοῦ Καγκελαρίου. — Χαρακτηριστικὸν ἄρθρον τῆς «Ἐφη-
μερίδος τῆς Φραγκφούρτης».

Ὁ κ. Βιθ ἐδήλωσε τὰ ἐξῆς εἰς τὴν «Βερολίνιον»
«Ἡμερήσιον»:

«Ἐνθὺς μετὰ τὸν σχηματισμὸν τῆς Κυβερνήσεως,
διεστῆσαν εἰς τὸ ὑπουργεῖον καταρτιστὸν σχεδίων,
εὐθείας ἐνστάσεως, διὰ τὸ ζήτημα τῶν ἐπαγορευμάτων,
δηλαδή διὰ τὰς καταβολὰς μας. Ἐπὶ τοῦτον δὲν δύ-
ναι νὰ ἐφαρμοσθῇ πολιτικὴ τῆς σιγῆς. Ἡ πολι-
τικὴ μας πρέπει νὰ εἴναι πολιτικὴ ἀντικειμενικὴ μὲ εὐ-
ρείας ἀπόψεις. Πρέπει νὰ διατυπώσῃ ἓνα πρόγραμ-
μα διὰ τὰς ὑποχρεώσεις μας καὶ τὸ πρόγραμμα τοῦτο
θὰ ἐπιδιόκηται εἰς τὸ Ράιχσταγ. Τότε μόνον θ' ἀρχίσῃ
ἡ ἐργασία τῶν πολιτικῶν κομμάτων. Ἡ Γερμανία
δὲν δύναται ν' ἀπελευθερωθῇ εἰμὴ διὰ τῆς ἐργασίας.

»Τὰ κόμματα τὰ ὁποῖα εἰσῆλθον ἢ θέλουν νὰ εἰ-
σέλθουν εἰς τὴν σημερινὴν Κυβέρνησιν, πρέπει νὰ
προσέδωκον συνεργασίαν, ἡ ὁποία θὰ διαρκέσῃ ἐπὶ ἔτη.
Πρέπει νὰ παρασκενέωσιν τοὺς ὁπαδοὺς τῶν δι' ἑτη-
θυσίων. Οὐδεὶς ἐπιθυμῶν νὰ συνεργασθῇ εἰς τὸ πρό-
γραμμα τῆς ἀνασυγκροτήσεως πρέπει ν' ἀποκλεισθῇ.
Πρέπει ν' ἀφαισθῇ ἔξω τὰ πρόσωπα τὰ ὁποῖα δὲν
σκέπτονται εἰμὴ τὰ κομματικὰ τῶν. Μετ' ἐνθαρισι-
σεως θὰ δεχθῶν τὴν συνεργασίαν τῶν μεγάλων ἀρχη-
γῶν τῆς βιομηχανίας, τῶν ὁποίων τὸ ὁργανωτικὸν
ἔργον ἐπέφερε εἰς τὴν Γερμανίαν νὰ κρατήσῃ τό-
σον κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον.

»Ἀναφορικὸς πρὸς τοὺς λόγους, διὰ τοὺς ὁποίους
ἐδέχθη τὸ τελειόγραφον, ὁ κ. Βιθ ἐδήλωσεν:

«Οὐδεὶς ἐπίστευεν εἰς τὴν καλὴν θέλησιν τῆς Γερ-
μανίας καὶ εἶχονεν ὁλόκληρον τὸν κόσμον ἐναντίον
μας. Σκεφθῆτε τὰς πολιτικὰς συνεπείας καὶ τὴν ἀπο-
τελέσματα τῆς ἐπὶ ἔτη ἐνώσεως τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τοῦ
Ροῦρ πρὸς τὰ Γαλλικὰ μεταλλεύματα. Ἀς σκεφθῶ-
μεν τὰς θύσας, τὰς ὁποίας ὑπέσθημεν κατὰ τὸν πό-
λεμον διὰ τὰ κρατήσωμεν τὸν ἐχθρὸν ἔξω τοῦ ἐδά-
φους μας. Ἐνὰς μὲν πόλεμος ἐσοτίζετο δὲν μίαν ἐ-
τησίαν ἡδὲς ἀποζημιώσεως.

»Ἡμεῖς πάντοτε πεπεισμένοι περὶ τῆς ἀναποφεύ-
κτου ἀποτυχίας μιᾶς πολιτικῆς συνισταμένης εἰς συ-
νεχῇ ἐπιπλοαίαν, εἰς ὑποχωρήσεις, εἰς ὑποβολὴν ὅ-
ρων, καὶ εἰς ἀναστροφήν διὰ μέτρων τοιοῦτων διόρθω-
σιν τῆς καταστάσεως.

»Ἦτο ἀνάνηκ ἡμεῖς νὰ λεγθῇ ἓνα «αἶν»,
εἴτε ἀπὸ τὸ ἐν, εἴτε ἀπὸ τὸ ἄλλο μέρος. Ἦδη ἡ ἰδέα
τῆς ἐκτελέσεως πρέπει ν' ἀντικαταστήσῃ τὴν ἰδέαν
τῆς συζητήσεως. Φυσικὰ αἱ καταβολαὶ μας δὲν δύ-
ναι νὰ εἴναι σημαντικαὶ εἰμὴ ἂν οὐδὲν τιμὴν τοῦ
Γερμανικοῦ λαοῦ δὲν φέρει ἀντιρροήσεις εἰς τὴν πα-
ραδοχὴν μας.

»Παρακρίσεις τῶν ὑπονοήσεών μας θὰ μᾶς ἐ-
ξέθετε εἰς σοβαροτάτους ἐσωτερικοὺς καὶ ἐξωτερικοὺς
κινδύνους.»

Ἡ «Ἐφημερίδα τῆς Φραγκφούρτης», ὑπαιτιο-
μένη ἀντιδράσεις τινάς, ἀς συναντᾷ ὁ Καγκελάριος,
γράφει:

«Ὁ Καγκελάριος πρέπει νὰ διενδύσῃ τὸ σύνολον
τῆς πολιτικῆς καὶ νὰ ἐπιβάλῃ εἰς τὴν περὶ πολλοὺν διὰ

τοῦ φρυγᾶδος ἀξιοματικῶς πρὸς ἐπιπλοαίαν συνάδελ-
φόν του:

«Ἡ σιολὴ πλέον τοῦ Ἕλληρος ἀξιοματικῶς τῆς
Ἀφύνης ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει ἐξετελεσθῇ καὶ ἀπὸ
ἀπόψεως ἀνατορῆς καὶ ἀπὸ ἀπόψεως καλῆς συμπε-
ριφορᾶς. Ἦθειλον νὰ εἶχον ἐδῶ διὰ τὰ νινάξῃς τὰ
μυαλὰ σου σὺν δέσῃς.

Αὐτὰ εἶνε τὰ χάλια τῶν ὀλίγων ἐν Κωνσταντινου-
πόλει φρυγᾶδων, οἱ ὁποῖοι διεκδικοῦν τὸ μονοπώλιον
τοῦ πατριωτισμοῦ. Καμαρῶστε τους.

ΟΙ ΒΟΗΘΗΤΙΚΟΙ ΝΟΣΟΚΟΜΟΙ

Πολλοὶ βοηθητικοὶ νοσοκόμοι τοῦ 1912 μᾶς παρα-
πονοῦνται διότι ἐκλήθησαν ὑπὸ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ δὲν χρη-
σιμοποιήσανται, ἀλλὰ στρατιωτικοὶ καὶ... περιμέ-
νον. Δεδομένου δι' ὑπάρχοντες βοηθητικοὶ νοσοκόμοι
νέωτέρων κλάσεων, οἱ ὁποῖοι χρησιμοποιοῦνται ἐπαρ-
κῶς εἰς τὰς διαφόρους ὑπηρεσίας, δὲν γνωρίζουν
ποῖοι ἀρὰ γε λόγῳ τεχνικῶν ἐμποδίζον τὴν ἀπόλυσιν
τῶν ἀνθρώπων αὐτῶν. Εἶνε δίκαιον τὸ Κράτος νὰ ἐ-
ξοδεύῃ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀσκόπως, ὅπως μᾶς γράφουν, νὰ τα-
λαιπωροῦνται;

ΑΝΩΝΥΜΟΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗ ΕΤΑΙΡΕΙΑ ΘΑΛΑΣΣΙΩΝ ΕΠΙΧΕΙΡΗΣΕΩΝ (ΠΑΛΗΟΥ)

Λόγω τῶν ἐπαύσεων καὶ τῶν ἐπισκευῶν τῶν ἀτμοπλοῖ-
ων μας, θὰ ἐκτελῶνται ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐλευθέ-
ρων τοιούτων μόνον τὰ κατὰ δρομολόγια ἐκ Πειραιῶς.
Ἐκάστην Δευτέραν ἀ)π. »ΕΡΜΟΥΠΟΛΙΣ» 7 μ. μ. διὰ
Σύρον, Τήνον, Ἀνδρόν, Κόρθιον, Τήνον, Σύρον, Πειραιᾶ.
Ἐκάστην Τετάρτην μεσημβρίαν διὰ Χίον, Σμύρνην,
Μυτιλήνην, Δαρδανέλλια, Καλλιπόλιν καὶ Κωνσταντινού-
πολιν.

Ἐκάστην Πέμπτην ἀ)π. »ΕΡΜΟΥΠΟΛΙΣ» 9 π. μ. διὰ
Πάτρως, Κέρκυραν, Βοινῆσιον.

Ἐκάστην Σάββατον 7 μ. μ. διὰ Χανιά, Ρέθυμνον, Ἡ-
ράκλειον, Πόρτ - Σάβ, Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, Πειραιᾶ.

Διὰ περισσώτερας πληροφορίας ἐν Ἀθήναις εἰς τὸ Πρα-
κτοεῖον τῆς Ἐταιρείας, δὸς Στάδιον 64, Γραφεῖα Κοινῆς
καὶ Γενικῆς καὶ τὸ Γενικὸν Πρακτοεῖον, ἐν Πειραιᾷ δὲ
εἰς τὸ Πρακτοεῖον τῆς Ἐταιρείας, πλατεῖα Καραϊσκάκη
καὶ Ἀκτὴ Τζελέφου.

(ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΔΙΕΥΘΥΝΣΕΩΣ)

ΚΑΤΗΓΟΡΙΑ Βασποινὲς ἐγγράμματος
ἐπὶ τὸ Λογιστικὸν τῆς «Ἀθηναϊκῆς».

κῆρον τὴν ἐνότητά τῆς πολιτικῆς τῶν θελήσεως. Ἡ
νέα Κυβέρνησις ἀνέλαβεν ἔργον ἀρκετὰ βαρὺ. Πρέ-
πει ν' ἀποδείξῃ δι' ἔργων τὴν θέλησιν τὴν ὁποίαν
διεκλήρουε τὴν 11ην Μαΐου. Πρέπει ν' ἀποδείξῃ δι-
ἡ Γερμανία παρὰ τὴν ἀνυχίαν τῆς ἔχει ἀκόμη τὴν
θέλησιν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν νὰ ἐκπληρώσῃ τὰς ὑποχρεώ-
σεις τῆς. Ἐφ' ὅσον εἶνε κράτος ἔχει ἀκόμη συνείδη-
σιν ἐαυτῆς ὅπως τηρήσῃ τὸν παρὰ τῆς Κυβερνήσεως
τῆς δὲν ἐπὶ λόγον.

Ἡ ἐφημερίδα παραπονεῖται πικρῶς διὰ τὴν στάσιν
τῶν ἀντιπαραθέσεων εἰς τὴν παραδοχὴν τοῦ τελει-
ωγράφου, οἱ ὁποῖοι ἀντὶ νὰ ὑποκύρουν πρὸ τῆς πλει-
οψηφίας, δὲν παύουν ἐπιτιθέμενοι κατὰ τῆς νέας
Κυβερνήσεως καὶ οὕτω καθιστοῦν δυσχερέστερον τὸ
ἔργον τῆς.

Ἡ ἐφημερίδα προσθέτει:

«Παρὰ τὸ μέγα ἔργον, τὸ ὁποῖον ἔχει νὰ ἐπιτε-
λῇ, ὅπως πραγματοποιήσῃ τὰς ὑποχρεώσεις τὰς ἀ-
ναληφθείσας ἀπέναντι τῆς Ἀντάντ, ἡ Κυβέρνησις
Βιθ ἔχει νὰ διεξαγάγῃ καὶ ἀγῶνα κατὰ τῆς δημο-
κρατίας. Πρὸς τοῦτο ἔχει ἀνάγκη ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἐνὸς
ἀκόμη πράγματος: ἐπιτυχίων.

»Μέχρι τοῦδε ἡ Ἀντάντ ἔκαμε τὴν μεγαλειέταν
ἀποπαγνύσαν διὰ τὴν ἀντίδρασιν ἐν Γερμανίᾳ. Πᾶν
δι' ἀνέλαβε κατὰ τῆς Γερμανίας, διηκούσων τὸ
συμφέρον τῶν ἐθνικοφρόνων κύκλων. Ἀν μετὰ τὴν
παραδοχὴν τοῦ τελειωγράφου ἡ Ἀντάντ ἐξακολουθή-
σῃ νὰ παραβιάζῃ τὸ Γερμανικὸν δίκαιον, αὐτὴ ἡ ἰδέα
θ' ἀνατρεφῇ τὴν πλειοψηφίαν, ἥτις ἐσχηματίσθη με-
τὸν σκοπὸν νὰ καταβάλλῃ τὴν ὑπερτάτην προσπάθειαν
πρὸς τὴν συνδιαλλαγὴν μεταξὺ νικητῶν καὶ ἡττη-
μένων.

»Ἡ λύσις τοῦ προβλήματος τῆς Σιλεσίας θὰ παύσῃ
σημαντικὸν ὁλόν εἰς τὴν ἐξέλιξιν, τὴν ὁποίαν θὰ
λάβῃ ἡ ἐσωτερικὴ πολιτικὴ τῆς Γερμανίας.»

Ὁ διευθυντὴς τῆς «Ἐφημερίδος τοῦ Φόρ» Πῶλ
Αἰτὴν γράφει:

«Ἀφ' ὅτου ἡ Κυβέρνησις τῆς Γερμανίας διεκλή-
ρουε τὴν οὐδαρὴν καὶ εἰλικρινὴ πρόθεσιν τῆς νὰ ἐκ-
πληρώσῃ τὰς ἀναληφθείσας ὑποχρεώσεις, γεννᾶται
παντοῦ ἐν Γερμανίᾳ ἡ ἐντύπωσις, δι' ἡ ἐκτελέσει
αὐτῶν εἶναι δυνατὴ ἂν ἀποκοσμηθῶν εἰς τοῦτο
ὅλας μας τὰς δυνάμεις. Ἡ ἐμπιστοσύνη, μετὰ τῆς ὁ-
ποίας ἐγένετο δεκτὸν τὸ τελειόγραφον ὑπὸ τῶν βιο-
μηχανικῶν καὶ ἐμπορικῶν κύκλων, εἶνε ἀδυσανέ-
ωτος ἀπὸ τῆς ἀπόψεως ταύτης.»

Ἐκ τῶν ἀνωτέρω πληροφοριῶν καὶ ἰδία ἐκ τῶν
ἀπορῶν τῆς «Ἐφημερίδος τῆς Φραγκφούρτης» συ-
νίσταται δι' ἡ θέσις τῆς Κυβερνήσεως Βιθ δὲν εἶνε
τόσον ἀσφαλὴς. Ἀν τὸ ζήτημα τῆς Ἀνα Σιλεσίας
δὲν λυθῇ ὑπὲρ τῆς Γερμανίας, εἶναι ἐνδεχόμενον νὰ
προκληθῇ ἐξέγερσις, ἡ ὁποία ν' ἀναιρεσθῇ τὴν σημε-
ρινὴν πλειοψηφίαν τοῦ Ράιχσταγ, ἥτις ἀνατρεφῇ θὰ
παραδοχὴ καὶ τὴν σημερινὴν Κυβέρνησιν.

ΚΕΝΤΡΙΚΟΣ ΣΥΝΔΕΣΜΟΣ ΠΑΘΟΝΤΩΝ

ΔΙΑ ΤΑΣ ΑΙΤΗΣΕΙΣ ΑΠΟΖΗΝΙΩΣΕΩΣ

Ὁ Σύνδεσμος, διὰ λόγους ἰδία ἡθικῶς συμφέρον-
τος τῶν παθόντων καὶ πρὸς διευκόλυνσιν αὐτῶν εἰς
τὴν ἀδασανώτερον καὶ ταχυτέραν ὑποβολὴν καὶ ἐνέ-
ργειαν τῶν αἰτήσεων ἀποζημιώσεως, ἐνώπιον τῆς
κατὰ Νόμον Ἐπιτροπῆς, καθήρτισε γραφεῖον συντά-
ξεως τῶν αἰτήσεων τοιούτων ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ Βουλῆς 16,
ἀναιτεμένης τῆς διεξαγωγῆς τῶν ἐν γένει ὑποθε-
σεων εἰς ἐγκρίτους ἐπιστήμονας ἐκ τῶν ὁμοιοπαθῶν
μελῶν του.

Ἐφ' ὃ εἰδοποιοῦνται πάντες οἱ παθόντες, μέλη
καὶ μὴ τοῦ Συνδέσμου, ἵνα προσέλθωσι καὶ καταθέ-
σωσι διὰ τὴν σύνταξιν τῶν αἰτήσεων τῶν τὰ ἀπαραί-
τητα στοιχεῖα αὐτῶν.

(Ἐκ τοῦ Γραφείου τοῦ Συνδέσμου)

NICETOLO

Τοῦ μεγάλου

ΘΕΡΑΠΕΥΤΙΚΟῦ ΙΝΣΤΙΤΟΥΤΟῦ ΤΗΣ ΡΟΜΗΣ

ΕΝΩΣΙΣ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ — ΦΩΣΦΟΡΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΧΑΛΚΟΥ

Ἡ ΤΕΛΕΥΤΑΙΑ ΛΕΞΙΣ ΤΗΣ ΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΗΣ

Συνιστάμενον παρὰ τῶν παγκοσμίων κορυ-
φῶν τῆς ἱατρικῆς.

Εἰς καταστάσεις ὁργανικῆς πτωχεύσεως ἐ-
γένει.

Φυματίωσιν, σφύλιν εἰς λανθάνουσαν μορφήν.

Εἰς ἀρχικὰς ἀναιμίας, χλωρώσιν, νεφρο-
σθένειαν, νεύρωση, ἡμικρανίαν.

Γενικὸς ἀντιπρόσωπος διὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα

Α. ΛΟΥΡΟΣ, Φαρμακοποιὸς, ΣΤΑΔΙΟΥ 19.

'Οὐδὸς Κάνιγγος ἀριθ. 11